

Good English:

Or, Certain

R E A S O N S

Pointing out the safest way of Settlement
in this KINGDOM;

Drawne from the nature of the *Aims* and
Interests of the severall *Parties* ingaged;
and as the Case now stands, this second
day of M A Y. 1648.

A Peece of serious observation, wherein the secrets of every
Party, as they stand in a probability of Compliance, or Oppo-
sition to His *Majesty*, are fully discovered.

Seneca in *Hercule fur*:

——— Prosperum ac *faelix scelus*,
Virtus vocatur. Sontibus parent boni.
Ius est in armis. Queritur belli exitus,
Non Causa: Nunc pereat omnis memoria,
Et victor arma ponat, & victum decet
Deponere Odia.———

Printed in the Yeere 1648.



To the Lord Generall Fairfax.

My Lord,

THis plaine *Pamphlet* was written partly for your sake, and those under your Command, that you may at length consider what necessitie lies upon you, to secure yourselves, and settle this *Kingdom* by an humble, honorable, and speedy reconciliation with His *Majesty*. Know this, that what I have written here, is written courageously, and without *respect of Persons*: And because the truth of it is of so universall concernment, that it requires the perusal of all sorts of men within the *Kingdome*, I have sent it abroad in a more homely *stile* than usuall, that it may find entertainment in the meanest *capacities*.

The reason that induced me to make this *Addresse* unto your *Lordship* is, because it aimes principally at your *Interest*, who are the *Captaine* of that *Army*, which hitherto hath lengthened our miseries by *breach of Faith* with the *King*, and *Kingdom*: And though I am apt to believe (as well as others) that you had the least share in that odious and abominable *designe* of imprisoning our *Sovereigne*; yet the world knowes you may (if you please) and is almost perswaded you will, become the happy instrument of his *deliverance*. It is the humor of our owne and other *Nations* to talke, as if the Military Affaires were swayed wholly by your *Lieutenant-Generall*. I cannot tell how farre he and his potent *Party* may have wrought upon you heretofore by specious Arguments, or presumed to act many *Extravagancies* at such a time when you could not safely oppose them; but this I assuredly know, that they are all laid upon your *score*, and that now is the time wherein you may quit
scores,

scores, and become *your selfe*, who of *your selfe* (I am confident) are indued with such excellent principles of *honor*, *reason*, and *resolution*, that you cannot but doe like *your selfe*, having so faire an *oportunity*.

Nor is it my opinion only, but the hope and perswasion of many *gallant* men, which yet retainē some thoughts of *honor* concerning you, for your *bravery* and *civility* in your *Conquests*. Oh, let not the memory of them (which may be applauded in *after-times*, though not for the *Cause*, yet for the gallant performance) be obliterated by sinister and prodigious undertakings ! Remember that you stand in the rank of *Nobility*, and may transmit this *honor* with the addition of greater, unto your *Posterity* ; acquit then your self nobly, and let not the *fountain* from whence you derived your *honor*, be thus prophaned, and vilified by the very *filth* of the *people*. Consider the miseries that must fall upon your *Country*, by an Army of hungry *Strangers* now ready to invade us : Imagine that the eyes of the *Nation* are upon you, as one that may prevent all, or at least shorten their abode here, by uniting with his *Majestie*. Banish that accursed Principle of *not trusting an injured Prince*, which becomes none but implacable and incorrigible *Traitors*. See that such *Terms* be propounded unto him, that may not clash either with his *Conscience* or *Honor*, that it may appear unto all men, you desire *Peace* at his hands, who is the most *peaceable*, *pious*, *gracious* Prince living. But if you entertain other *Counsell*s, know that you will be look'd on by the *people*, as the *cause* of all those *desolations* which shall befall them ; and the time of *Revenge* will come, (from above) wherein you shall with *sorrow*, confesse your neglect of this honest *Advice*, given from a *private* hand, that would thinke it an *honor* to kisse yours, if your *Lordship* please first to kisse *Majestie's*, upon *just* and *honorable* conditions.



Good English:

O R,

Certaine Reasons pointing out the safest way of settlement in this Kingdome.

Drawne from the nature of the *aines*, and *Interests* of the severall *parties* ingaged; and as the case now stands, this second day of *May*, 1648.

First, by reasons drawne from the Interest of the Royall Episcopall Party.

HIs Majesty must owe the ruine of his *affaires*, to the *emulation* of his *Superior Officers*, and the security and intemperance of the *Inferiour*. The *Houses* (though *Conquerors*) must attribute the great deficiency and instability of their *affaires*, to *private Interest* and *Faction*; the very *Twins* of all popular ingagements.

The *Factions* are divided into these two notions, *Presbyterian*, and *Independent*; both of them *humours* inconsistent with the true temper of the *Body Politique* of *England*: And they may fitly be compared unto two *poysons* of a contrary quality, which maintaining a *war* within the *Body naturall*, vex it with many dire *symptoms*, to the disturbance of the whole *Oeconomy*; and never rest, till being evacuated by some strong *Purger*, or else tired out by *re-action*, the strife ends: And so *nature* recovering her first vigor, reduces the *Body* into its former *state*.

Such as the event in this case, is in the body of man, the like may we expect at length, to be the issue of these *counter-workings* of the two venomous *Factions*, within the bowells of this Land. For, it must needs be, either that in long running they will tire out each other; or else the *Constitutions* of the people not being able to beare them any longer, they may at last be vomited out of the *Nation*. But rather than the *Kingdom* should be tormented, in expectation of the issue of so pernicious a *Conflict* betwixt those two *extremes*, it were convenient, his Majesty, as a *third party*, should

should speedily clap in, to ballance the one against the other, or else conquer both; there being but these two wayes to end the *Controversie*.

Touching the *Conquest* of both (though it be the farthest way about) he hath one maine *advantage* which may carry him through with the *work*; and that is the large *Empire* which he yet holds in the hearts of his people, which is exceedingly confirmed and daily augmented, by reason of those intolerable burthens that lie upon them; the sense whereof makes them looke upon the *King*, as their companion in misery, and on the two *Factions*, as the *Fountaines* from whence all these *evills* flow.

As for *Foraine aids*, it is confessed, the Affairs of *Christendom* are at this time so disposed, and every *Potentate* so exhausted, or ingaged, that some want *leisure*; others, ability to assist him: And others that have both *ability*, and *leisure*, yet refraine out of some particular *Reasons of State*. The *Spaniard* hath his hands full every way, and hath more cause to seeke to reparaire himselfe, than assist others: The *French* are his Invaders; the *Portugalls*, Revolters; and the *Neapolitans*, Rebels.

The *French* are busie in maintaining what they have gotten, and seeking after more. But if they were at leisure, little might be expected from them, unlesse it were to foment our *differences*; and as they first helped to *unsettle* us, so still to keep us from settling, that *England* (which is the ballancing power of *Europe*, and her King *Arbiter orbis Christiani*, the Arbitrator in all differences of *Christendome*) being broken by her owne strength at home, might have none to spend abroad, to hinder that prodigious *design*, wherein the late successes of the *French* have heightned them to become *Rivals* and *Competitors* with the *Spaniard*, for an *Universall Monarchy*.

Denmark hath enough to do in repairing those ruines, which were brought on them by the late *Swedish* IncurSIONS.

The *Hollanders* esteem it a safe way to conform themselves ever to the prevailing party in *England*, seeing they have a great part of their livelyhood by Indulgence from the *English* Nation: Moreover, though at first they esteemed the *Match* of the Prince of *Orange* with the eldest daughter of *England*, as a matter of much honour; yet now they look upon it as a businesse that in time may prove of ill consequence; fearing so great an alliance might dispose the *Prince* to aspire, and establish a greater *Interest* of his own, than is meet for a Member of a *Republike*, if *Monarchy* were at its height.

height againe in *England*. And further, many among the *Dutch*, supposing that the *Grande*s here aime at the same forme of *Government* with themselves, doe flatter themselves in conceit, that such a *neighbourhood* would be willing to admit of a nearer friendship and complication of *Interests*, than can be hoped for from a *Monarchy*, though there be farre more reason to suspect the contrary.

So that wee see how little his *Majesty* may expect from any of his *Neighbors*: And truly, it is no small part of our happiuesse in the midst of these *distractions*, that we have had, and are like to have, so little of their company.

The hopes then of his *Majesties* restitution being wholly founded upon the affections of his *People*, and bounded within his owne *Dominions*, let us take a view of each within their *station*. The *Scots* seem to be divided among themselves; some pretend absolutely for his *Majesty*; others, onely upon condition of signing the *Covenant*, &c. In *Ireland* a *Cessation* will open a way for supplies out of that *Kingdome*. In *Wales*, they are in arms already for his *Majesty*, and all the Royall Party in *England* wait but for an *Opportunity* in the same way, to free themselves from their present vassalage, under the power of the *Independent* party in the *Houses*; wherein likewise the *Presbyterian* party are as much concerned as any, seeing the other of *Brethren* are become their bitter *enemies*, and would shew them as little courtesie, as others, were it not to stop the mouths of their *leading men* at home, and in hope to work upon the prime *Presbyters* in *Scotland*.

What the *Result* of the *Scotish* resolutions will be, is yet not certainly knowne. If the *pretending royall party* there carry an *Ingagement simply* for the *King*, no doubt but the *Royallists* here joyning with them, they may finish the *work* by subduing both the *Factions*: But if they bring in a *mixt* *Ingagement* for the *King* and the *Covenant* (which we have great cause to fear,) I conceive the *Royallists* ought not to joyne with them, but to expect and endeavour a *Close* with the *Independent* party; who will be forced for their owne safety, to wave their *high-flowne Resolutions*, and be-think themselves of a *Compliance* with his *Majesty*; which ought rather to be sought after and imbraced, (as lesse dangerous to the *royall Prerogative*) than a *close* with the *Presbyterian*.

Touching the probability and conveniency of a *Compliance* betwixt his *Majesty* and the *Independent* party, in case the *Scots* ingage for *Presbyterie*, I shall endeavour to fortifie my opinion by unde-

niable *Reasons*: But first give me leave to manifest the great danger of closing with the *Presbyterian* Party, though accompanied with never so many specious pretences.

That a *Scottish* Ingaging for the *Covenant* (resolved on, as it seems) will be clearly destructive to *Monarchicall* Interest, I shall prove in severall particulars. First, because they aim thereby at the introduction of *Presbyterie*, and the over-turning of *Episcopacy*, the maine pillar of *Monarchy*, as it hath ever been esteemed in this *Nation*. And therefore it was, that all the Kings of *England*, from time to time, have so willingly sworne, to grant and to preserve unto the Bishops, and to the Churches committed to their Charge, all *Canonick* privileges, and due Law and Justice, and to protect and defend them, &c. And King *JAMES*, who had long experience of the sad effects of the alteration of that Government in the Church of *Scotland*, was so fully convinced of the neare relation betwixt *Episcopacie* and *Monarchy*, that hee left this for a sure *Aphorism* to his *Posterity*, No BISHOP, No KING. For, it having been of so long continuance here, and deeply rooted in the *Laws* of this Kingdom, it must needs be that a change in the one, will work an alteration in the other.

Secondly, The Truth hereof was so well knowne to the *Master-builders* of this *Reformation*, whose *Aime* appears now to have been *ab origine* (how contrary soever their *Pretences* were) for an alteration of the *civill* government; that they first began their work with pulling downe of *Episcopacie*, that in the ruines thereof they might lay the foundation of their new *designe*.

Thirdly, It is very apparent of what ill consequence, the extirpation of *Episcopacie* will be to his Majesty, seeing it is a meanes to clip the *Crowne* of a very considerable part of its *Revenues*, which by the *Laws* of the Land, are annexed thereunto; as the *collation* of *Bishopricks* and *Deaneries*; *first fruits* and profits of their Lands and *Revenues*, during their vacancies; the *first fruits* and yearly *Tenths* out of all *Ecclesiasticall Promotions*; and sundry other privileges, profits, and emoluments, arising out of the *State Ecclesiasticall*.

Fourthly, to ingage for *Presbytery*, is to indeavour the introducing of a *Democraticall* form of Government, which is directly incompatible with a *Monarchy*; and as it cannot stand with the power of our government, so it withstands the Honour of our Governor, debasing the Majesty of *Monarchy* into a popular parity, without respect of his most sacred Person.

Fifthly, by ingaging for *Presbyterie*, they labor to erect a power in the *State Ecclesiasticall* distinct from that of the *Civill*: for it is a

Maxim among all *Presbyters*, and we find it pleaded for at large in the *Confession* of Faith agreed upon by the Assembly at *Westminster* (which yet the *Houses* have been more wise than to confirme) that *there ought to be a power in the Church distinct from that of the Civill*: which *Tenet* of distinction must bee the same in effect with that of the Church of *Rome's* supremacy; seeing, those which now plead for a power without the *Civill*, will not bee long before they arrive to such a height of presumption, as to act above it, or against it, in pursuance of their own *designes*. It will be a hard matter to keep such a *Government* within its limits, in any *Common-wealth*, and therefore with much difficulty will it submit to be governed by a free *Monarchy*; especially a *Democracie* of this new Nature, which makes the same Persons *civill* Subjects, and *ecclesiasticall* superiors.

Sixthly, it is not like that *Presbyterie* should prove the *Mother* of *Peace*, considering that shee was born the Daughter of *sedition*, and hath ever since been nursed up by *Tumults* and *Rebellion*. For, *Geneva* was the Land of her *Nativity*, where *M. Calvin* was her Father; and no doubt, considering the state of those Affairs & conditions of men, among whom shee was conversant, it was a commendable invention, and very necessary for bridling the tumultuous Humors in a *free City*; And so far we may believe hee intended it, yeelding to a *popular Parity*, and not as an universall perpetuall form of government for all *reformed Churches*.

Seventhly, it is observable, that this ill *weed* hath growne in none but *popular* gardens, in some parts of *France* and *Germany*, till some seditious *Planters* and *Waterers*, caused it to spring up among the *Thistles* of *Scotland*; And of what sad consequence it hath proved to *Monarchicall* government in that *Kingdom*, let the world judge: For, the Foundation of it was laid in the ruine of our King's *Grandmother*, and the superstructure continued, to the perpetuall discontent and vexation of his *Father*, till hee was most happily possessed of the Crown of *England*; Nor could hee have been secure here, but that by his great wisdom hee staved it off: And now at length, the *Faction* having with great subtilty gotten footing in this Kingdom, wee see at this day, how faire a stroke it hath given toward the ruine of his Son, our most gracious *Soveraigne*, and his whole *Posterity*. For, though he languish now under the power of the other *Faction*, yet the first *designe* of war was laid in and by *Presbyterie*, and his *Majesty* suffered Relstraint first under the *Presbyterian* power; whose audacious carriage toward his Person, in hope to tire him out of his noble principles, taught others so much impudence, as to endeavour to serve their ends upon him, by a *close imprisonment*.

Eightly, seeing His Majesty is resolved to keep so close to his *Principles*, (as is well knowne unto all the world) that he will never yeeld

to the extirpation of *Bishops*, what then may we expect from a *Presbyteriall* Ingagement, but that when they have made use of the *King's Name* to quell the *Independent Faction*, as the *Independent* did to quell them, they will upon his *Majesties* refusall of their demands, (which he hath ever declared to be against his *conscience* and *honor*) returne againe to their old *vomit*, and either keep his *Majesty* in the same condition he now is, or worse, till they can settle themselves and their pernicious *Presbytery*, past all hope of remedy? And then (perhaps) he shall be called out of prison to be manacled in his *Throne*, as his Father was in *Scotland*, who could never act, but when they pleased to let him; and then onely according to their *Directory of Kirk and State*.

From hence (I conceive) we may positively and plainly affirme, that the Issue of a *Presbyterian Ingagement* (though usher'd in with never so many specious pretences for his *Majesty*) will be utterly destructive to the *Royall Interest* of this Kingdom: And therefore if the *Scots* come in upon such *termes*, the *Royall Party* ought not to ingage with them, nor to countenance them, but to expect, and indeavour a *Compliance* with the *Independent*, as I shall further illustrate by reason.

First, though some may object that it cannot stand with his *Majesties* Honor to comply with those, that have already abused his inclination in that particular: yet if they duly consider, what urgencie lies at present upon his *Majesty*, and how little hope there is of any better way of restitution, they may conceive it far more politique to obey *necessity*, than stand upon nice *Punctillo's* of honor; which I must confesse a Prince in prosperity ought to have regard unto, *ad conservandam Majestatem Imperii*; but if once he be trampled under the feet of fortune, ceremonious respects must be laid aside, to Court the first *Oportunity*, which reason shall point out, for a *deliverance*.

Secondly, if it be objected, that the *Independent* party have a designe for *alteration* of government, I answer, so I believe the *Presbyters* have too; onely here is all the difference betwixt them, that the *Independents* would not have a *King* so much as in *Name*, the *Scots Presbyters* would have no more but the Name of a *King*: The one aims downright at an *Aristocraticall* forme of Government; the other pretends to maintain *Monarchicall* Government, yet actually destroyes the very Principles of *Monarchy*. And as for the *Independent*, it is cleare by their imprisoning of the *King*, their declaring against him, and to settle the Kingdom without him, that they have had, and still may continue a *designe* to change the *Kingly* Government, and (in plaine termes) declare themselves *Free Sates*, if by any meanes they can allay the *Scots*: But there being little hopes of that, we may guesse how unable they are to maintaine their Station, having over-strained the sinews of the *City*, and the heart-strings, of the Country; and so it is probable they will scarce be so hardy as to venture, to stand upon their single leggs, against the streame

of a generall dif-affection at home, and an invasion by their *opposite Faction* from abroad; but may, when there is no hope of carrying on their designe any longer that way, retreat with *moderation* toward His Majesty.

Thirdly, seeing it is dangerous, in case the *Scots* come in for *Presbytery*, that the *Royall* party should ingage with them, it is all the reason in the world they should with speed indeavour an *Agreement* with the *Independent*: For, if *Presbytery* receive a foile from the *Independents*, then they will undoubtedly be heightned with confidence to prosecute their designe against *Monarchy*, and (perhaps) in time attaine so much power, as to establish themselves: And on the other side, if *Independency* receive a foile from the *Presbyters*, then *Presbyteriall* Government will usurp over *Monarchy*; both which inconveniencies will be prevented by a timely close with the *Independent*. For, there is no other way to re-establish his Majesty, unlesse we suppose his *Party* able to carry it by force of Armes against both the *Factions*: which (if it were possible) cannot be effected without length of time, extreme difficulty, and the sad consequences of a *Second War*.

Fourthly, an Agreement with the *Independent* is the only way to hinder a *Second war*. For, They being Possessed of all, or most of the places of strength in this *Kingdom*, and back't besides with an *Army*, it must needs bee, that an Ingaging against them, cannot be carried on to a *Conquest*, but through a *Sea of Blood*, and a generall *devastation*: whereas an *union* betwixt them and his Majesty, contracted upon moderate, just, and equitable grounds, in relation to his Majesties Interests and due *Rights*, and the People's *Birthright*, will bee a meanes not only to prevent the afore-said *Mischiefe*; but so quell the *Presbyterian* Party in *England*, that they shall not bee able to countenance any *Scotish* designs: And so, if the *Scots* do attempt an *Invasion* upon any *Pretence* whatsoever, the *Warr* will bee brought home to their owne dores.

Fifthly, seeing there is a necessity of some *form*, it is probable the *Compliance* will extend so far, as to let us have *Bishops* again. And there is so much the more hope, in regard the *Independents* have not yet absolutely agreed to the settling of any one particular way of *Church-Government*; the execution of all Ordinances hitherto in relation to *Presbyterie*, being permitted merely out of *policie* to pacifie that *Faction* for a time, and not out of any respect to the *Government* it selfe; which they looke upon as far more destructive to liberty, and which brings in ten thousand such *Inconveniencies* and *Pressures*, as are not incident in a *well-regulated Episcopacy*.

Sixthly, if it bee objected, that there is little hope of the *Independents* yielding to *Bishops*, seeing they have been as deeply ingaged in the *sale* of their *Lands*, as ever *Presbyters* were; it must bee considered, that what they have done in this kind of *Robbery*, was only (as their elder Brethren

the *Presbyters*, gave them example) in order to their *Designe* for *alteration* of *Government*; which now being forced to quit (as anon I shall prove) by *invincible* necessity, some other waies may and must bee taken for the satisfaction of the souldiery than by the Goods of the *Church*. And then likewise it will bee no hard matter to make our purchasing *Cormorants*, to vomit up all their sweet *Sacrilegious Morsels*.

Lastly, though most of the *Royall Party* are rendred wholly averse to a *Close* with the *Independent Party*, as Persons not to bee dealt with, by reason of their grosse *Juglings* with his *Majesty*; yet give me leave to say, that as their *Ambition*, *avarice* and *over-weening confidence*, were the causes of their declining those faire *Proposals* and *Pretences* of their first *Ingagement*, supposing that then they had an *Oportunity* to doe what they pleased; so now being deceived in their expectations, and having found by experience, that they are not able to go through with their *Designe*; and it being cleare also (as I shall manifest) that they have no hope of *Safety*, or, continuance in this *Kingdom*, but by a *Cordiall Close* with his *Majesty*, wee have little or no Cause to feare a second *Baffle* upon *sophisticall Pretences*, in time to come; especially if his *Majestie's* wisdom bee laid in the *Balance* with their *Necessity*.

And so for these Reasons I conceive, we may boldly affirm; that as the royall Party ought by no meanes to admit of an *Ingagement* with, or for *Presbyterie* (though set on foot with the fairest *Pretences*;) so their true Interest at present is to seek, and imbrace a timely discreet *Compliance* with that Party Paramount of this *Kingdom*, which they call *Independent*.

II. Reasons drawn from the Interest of the ruling Independent Party.

WHEN first his *Majesty* became a Prisoner to the *Independent Party*, the *Kingdom* (as well as himselfe) was filled with great hope of such a mutuall *Compliance* betwixt him and them, as might usher in the long-desired *settlement* of this distracted *Nation*: Our expectations in this particular were exceedingly heightned by the many specious *Declarations*, *Representations*, and *Proposals*, sent abroad from the *Army*; which promised much, in relation to the just *Rights* of his *Majesty*, and his *Royall Posterity*, and the true satisfaction of all *Interests*, as well as their owne; together with many glorious *pretences* of *moderation* toward those of the *Royall Party*, and the easing of all *burthens* which lay upon the *Subject*.

These were indeed most rich and glorious *pretences*: And without controversie this way of *Compliance* was at that time their true *Interest*, and had they prosecuted it according to their *Proposals*, they had laid a stable foundation of their owne and the *Kingdoms* future happinesse. But they, forsaking the true paths which led to *Peace*, immediately fell a wandering from these *Principles* in such an *erroneous* course, that as the wiser sort of men fore-saw, so themselves now begin to see.

the *fatall consequences* of their wretched *dissimulation*; which is like to bring no lesse *sorrow* upon the *Ring-leaders* of that *Faction*, than it hath done already upon their *Fellow-Subjects*, and their *Sovereigne*.

The Reasons which induced them to deale so perfidiously with his *Majesty*, were (no doubt, as I mentioned before) *Ambition* and *Avarice*; as hath since appeared by their seizing all places of *profit*, in the hands of themselves, and their *Kindred*, and *Creatures*: And also by their grosse and palpable *designings* for a change of *Monarchicall* Government. Upon a *Change* (for certain) they were all resolved; but what new *form* to introduce in the place of it, was unknowne, and is as yet at this day, even to the principall among themselves. For, as the *Cause* at first was split into the two *Factions* of *Presbyterian* and *Independent*; so this of *Independency* is sub-divided into that Party which is commonly called *Independent*, and the other *Party*, most rightly called *Levellers*. The *Grandeers* of that Party commonly called *Independent*, are some of the *superior Officers* of the *Army*, and *Members* of either *House*; the greatest part of whom are visible in the *State-Committee* at *Derby-house*: And though when his *Majesty* was first imprisoned, they then pretended, and would still seem, to be one in designe with the *Levellers*, yet time hath manifested their *aim* to be at an *Aristocraticall* Form of Government, and (in plaine terms) to declare themselves and their select *Confederates* **FREE STATES**.

The other Party called *Levellers*, consist onely of some *Colonells* and *Commanders* of Inferiour Rank in the *Army*, with whom are joyned some few *Members* of the *Commons House*, and a confused *Rabble* of *Sectaries* in the *Army*, *City*, and *Suburbs*, and some parts of the *Coun-try*. Their aime is at a *Democraticall* form of Government; investing the power wholly in the *people*: So that this wild *Faction ex professo*, are enemies alike both to *Monarchy* and *Optimacy*, and will be governed neither by *Kings*, nor *States*.

Hence it was, that as soon as his *Majesty* was juggled away into the *Isle of Wight*, the *superior Officers*, in order to their *State-designe*, saw there was a necessity of crushing the *Levellers* Party, after that they had served their ends upon them, by drawing them into an ingaging upon the same pretended common *Principles* with themselves. And therefore their first work was with all speed to dissipate the *Councell* of the *Army*, contrary to their first *ingagement*, and surprize them with a new *ingagement* at *Ware*, destructive to the other at *New-Market*; whereinto the *Souldiery* were partly allured by *soothings*, and partly driven by *terror*, one of their fellow-souldiers being condemned for resistance, by a *Councell* of Warre, and shot to death before their faces at the generall *Rendezvous*.

The *Levellers* Party being thus quell'd, there remained yet one *Rab-*
bin the way to this new **STATE**, and that was the *Presbyter Party*:

As for the *Royall* Party, they were crushed alreadie, undone for want of their Estates, or by unmeasurable *Compositions* to regain them, and the *King* reduced to a forlorn despicable condition of imprisonment, so that it was presumed, he or they could have little hope, or meanes to revive againe: There remained then onely the *Gulph* of *Presbytery* to save them through to their desired *Haven*.

They knew very well, that the Breasts of the *Presbyterians* boiled high with indignation and revenge against them, as their contrary *Revolution*, that had over-awed and subdued them by force and subtilty, to become possessors of what was once theirs, and share in the glory of the new *Government*, which had been designed, and devoured in hope before, by the *Presbyters*: Therefore the *Presbyterian* being a potent *Revolution*, by reason of the great interest it hath in the City of *London*, and their neare union with *Scotland*, and indeed the major Party in the *House* on their side, if it were not over-awed; they judged it necessary to bethinke themselves of some way to pacifie the *Presbyterians*. To this end they first fell to bribing of the grand *Presbyterian-sticklers* in the *House*, either with sums of money in recompence of pretended loss or of *Arrears*, or else with great *Offices*, which staid their stomacks, and held the rest of the *Presbyters* in suspence, upon hope of the like in time according to their merits.

As for the *Scots*, it was with high confidence presumed, that they might bee taken off upon good valuable Considerations; wherein the *aspiring States* have not been wanting by prodigious *Offers*, though they will not prevaile.

As for the *City*, if after the pacifying of the *Presbyterian* in the *House* they could likewise have made sure of the *Scots* connivence, the *Presbyterian* Party of *Londoners* must have fallen of course, as not able to stand out by themselves.

And so here now we have a full view of the *Designe* of the present ruling *Independent* Party: For, if after they had crushed the *Levelles* they could by any meanes have made sure work with the *Presbyters* at home and in *Scotland*, then there had been nothing betwixt them at home, but his *Majesty* and his posterity, who being all of them at the Disposition and power, besides the *Prince*, and hee not likely to receive much comfort by succour from *foraine* Parts, I leave the world to judge what should have been the consequence of their wretched designe.

But since it appeares (and themselves are now perswaded in the hearts,) that God hath otherwise determined concerning his sacred *Majesty*, and his numerous flourishing posterity; seeing their last hope faile them, and they begin to languish in the *Close* of their *Work*, certainly it is high time to retreat, before the *Dore* be bolted against a hope of *Pacification*; and it must needs bee their true Interest, to recall his *Majesty* to let him *Treat* with freedom, and bethinke themselves

ome necessary expedients toward an honorable, equall, and perfect *reconciliation*; as the only meanes, of safety to Themselves, comfort to their afflicted *King*, and peace to these distressed *Kingdoms*; which I shall indeavour to prove by strength of *Reason*.

First, though it bee a *Maxim* among godlesse *Statesmen*, never to trust *Princes* whom they have highly offended: yet if the *Independent Grantees* should have no other assurance upon *Agreement*, than his *Majestie's* bare word for their *Indempnity*, I am confident they might trust him; being a knowne *Principle* ingrafted in his nature, not only by *morall* impression, but also by *Christian* perswasion, to *forgive* those that have *persecuted him*, and *displeasingly used him*: For, undoubtedly, the whole Course of his life hath manifested him (if men would lay aside their *Splene*, and but speake their *Consciences*) to bee of a most *gracious* inclination, equall to any of his *Predecessors*, and an exact patern of true *Clemency* to succeeding *Generations*.

Secondly, there is no doubt, but that upon *Termes of Agreement*, his *Majesty* will condescend to give any *reall assurance* for their security that shall in reason bee required; that is, so it extend not to the *Infringement* of his *just Rights* and royall *Prerogative*: For, it must bee ever supposed, that where an *Accommodation* is intended betwixt *adverse Parties*, there must bee a *Condescension* on both *sides*, wherein the ordinary Principles of right *Reason* and *Equity* must bee the *Rule*: For, if either side keep to any one *extreme*, the old *enmity* will never want *fuel*, and so the very *Pretences* of *Accommodation* will bee utterly destroyed, and end in more furious *flames* of *Dissension*.

Thirdly, there is a necessity of their *Compliance* with his *Majesty*, because the hatred of the People is so great, that if once they recieve a *Wound* upon *Battell*; there is little possibility of recruiting, when the hearts and purses of both *City* and *Country* are shut against them: And therefore it were madness for men to set their whole *Stock* at one *Cast*, and hazard the fortune of themselves and Friends, upon the uncertain, chance of one single *Conflict*; whereas *wise* men, before they pitch upon *Enterprizes* of so high a *Nature*, cast about rather how to repaire themselves upon occasion of *losse*, than dream altogether of *Victory*: For, such a provident *Jealousy* usually leads men to safety, whilst the confident *imaginary* prosperity of *Fooles* destroyes them.

Fourthly, None can have greater cause of *Jealousie* touching the success of their owne *Affaires*, than the present *ruling Grandees* now have: For, besides the instability of their condition in respect of contrary *Humors* and *parties* ready to ingage against them at home, it is visible, that they will bee invaded from abroad. The *Covenant-Faction* of the *Scots* are concerned in point of *Interest*, to wage war against them, for the restoring of their party againe in *England*; and his *Majesties* Party in *Scotland* will not (as indeed they ought not) stand *neutrall*: And though

though they have great hopes here, that the difference between the *Majesties* Party and the *Covenanters* there, touching the Nature of an *Engagement* against *England*, may rise so high, as by busying them against each other, to keep them from engaging this way at all; yet rather than suffer things to remaine at this passe in *England*, it is evident they will supersede all *bandyings* among themselves, and consider of some *middle way* wherein to manage their *Counsels* and resolutions, to bee revenged upon the *Independent* Usurpers. Besides, it is very observable, that the late falling away in *Ireland*, may from a *cessation*, proceed to a perfect Peace with the *Irish*, and then both joyne in one against the *Houses* for the restoring of his Majesty. In the mean time, the *Cessation* will make way for *Supplies & auxiliary* Forces out of that *Kingdom*, to joyn with any *discontented* Party in this; where it is evident, that the People are so far exasperated, that they will joyne with the *Scots, Irish*; yea, or the *Turk*, upon hope of freeing themselves & restoring their *King*, rather than continue in thralldom, at the will and pleasure of their present *Lords* and *Masters*.

Fifthly, though the *Houses* have voted the sending of Forces over to hold play with *Inchiquin* in *Munster*, and so to divert his intentions from *England*; yet People are not so silly, but to see, they are so far unable to raise, or keep up an *Army* in that *Country*, that they want wherewithall to maistaine their owne in this. And moreover, they are now in so ill a condition to spare men, that they dare not part with any considerable peece of this *Army* to reduce the *Welsh*, for feare that if themselves were left naked, they might be surprized unawares; knowing this, that there is no sitting, without a powerfull *Army* to guard them; whereof they are not a little conscious, as appears by drawing up the *major part* of the *Army*, into *Quarters*, at a neare distance about the *City*.

Sixthly, as they have innumerable causes of fear from others, they wil find little ground of *security* even among themselves: For, if we consider the constitution of the *Army*, in the severall parts of it, it appears to be an *aggregate* of differing *interests, opinions, & perswasions*; among whom the *Grandees* have the lesse numerous party, being over-ballanced by the *Levellers*, and others of the inferior *Officers & private* Souldiers, whom we may reckon as men of *fortune*, who continue in the *Army*, not out of any devotion or affection to the *Cause*, but only for subsistence, & therefore being rather affectionated to his *Majesty*, will be ready (as they receive opportunity) to shew themselves in his *service*. And as for the *Levellers*, though all the industry in the world be used, to pacifie them from the remembrance of former injuries, and draw them into a conjunction with the *Grandees*, against the *King*, and the *Scots*; yet it is probable they will never sell their *blood* and *fellow-subjects* at so vile a rate, as to purchase a sure dominion for such *tyrannicall Masters*; who, when they have help't them to do the *work*, will be ready (as they did before) to crush them, and pay them their wages, with perpetuall *slavery*.

seventhly, their Party is very inconsiderable at *Westminster*, the *Houses* being no longer theirs, than whilst they over-awe it by *force*, as themselves well know: so that if it happen, the *Scots* come in, the *Presbyteri-* party being once back't with an *Army*, will soon *out-vote* them. And when the time will come on, wherein they shall be called to an account for all their forcible *attempts* upon the *Houses* and the *city*; and those *members* that went and joyned with them therein, bee brought upon the stage for *breach of trust*, and have the shame of *high-Treason* retort-upon themselves, and their *August* Ingagement.

Eighthly, by a timely *agreement*, they may settle an *Interest* with his *Majesty*, to make themselves certainly great; forasmuch as it is possible both their *Interests* may stand together (with discretion) entire, by the institution of *Bishops*, and upon assurance given for *liberty of conscience*, within sober limits.

Lastly, his *Majesty* is the very *basis* of peace, and the balancing power to all *Parties* in this *Kingdom*, and without him no settlement can be expected; and with whatsoever side he joynes, that will assuredly prevaile. To manifest the truth thereof, let it be remembred of what concernment his *compliance* was to the *Independents*, in subduing their opposite *Faction* both in the *Houses* and the *city*, while he resided among them in the *Army*. And as by this meanes, at that time, they advanced themselves to the height of *fortune*; so now that they are, in the eyes of all the world, in a *declining* condition, they may (if they please) give a *check* to the *triumph* of their *Presbyterian* adversaries, by applying themselves more cordially and sincerely to the same way of *compliance* with his *Majesty*. This wil be a means to oblige him, and his *Party* so far, that all injuries being buried in *oblivion*, the people gladdened by the return of a long desired *peace*, the old enmity and malice will be soon abated, and the *Royall Party* and themselves strengthened in one, by an addition of the whole Body of the *Nobility*, *Gentry* and *Commonalty*, against all *Presbyterian* incroachments, either within, or without the *Kingdom*.

From all which we may sum up this *conclusion*; that as his *Majesty* is obliged in point of *interest* to wave all *Presbyteriall* Ingagements, and in-
deavour an agreement with the *Independent*: so likewise it appears, that the true *interest* of the *Independent* Party is, with all speed to recall those prodigious *Votes* of *Non-Adresse*, and apply themselves unto his *Majesty*, with such moderate desires, that may stand as well with his *honor*, as *safety*, & be a means to remove all *jealousie* & *dissast* betwixt him and them; and upon just and necessary grounds lay a sure foundation for a *lasting peace*.

III. *Reasons drawn from the Interest of the Presbyterian Party in England.*

VHence it was, and for what ends, the *designe* of *Presbytery* was first brought into this *Nation*, Time the mother of *Truth* hath at length fully manifested: for, as the *pretences* of it were high & glorious, so both been fallacious & *dishonorable*, and to it we must ascribe the

Original cause and continuance of all our miseries.

That it arrived to such a height in the opinions of many, as to be cryed up for the onely pattern of Government under the Gasse, must be imputed to the *blind zeal* of some, and the *deceitfulnesse* of others, rather then the intention of its founder, Master Calvin: For it doth not appear that he ever stretcht his *model* so far, as the necessity and universality of a *divine right*; but seems onely to have hewen part of the building out of the rock of the Scriptures, according to the *literall* signification, and pieced up the residue by politicke and prudentiall rules, such as he conceived might sound neere the Text, and serve most conveniently to cement the disjoynted members of that broken and tumultuous Commonwealth of Geneva, into an entire and well compacted body.

It was no sooner lick't into form there, but (as it is the fate of all things new) it began to be much extol'd and admired, and the fame thereof spreading it self in England (as well as in other parts) wrought in many of our Country-men an *itching* desire to go thither, and observe the manners and customes of the Government; where, of Spectators they soon became Proselytes, and returning home with new affections and opinions, had an *evil eye* upon the ancient Apostolicall government of Episcopacy, which they prosecuted with invective Libels from the Presse and Pulpit, as *Antichristian*; in the mean time extolling their new Diana, in hope to bring better advantage thereby unto themselves, then they could hope to attain under the government of Bishops: and in proceſse of time, their Doctrines being brought into reputation by the addition of an artificiall and counterfeit piety, they stole away the hearts of many well-meaning people throughout the Kingdom, whom they poysoned with disaffection to the present Government. So here was the rise of the old Presbyters, which passed heretofore under the names of Non-conformists, or Puritans.

Manifold were the Bickerings which they had with the Bishops during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James; yet the Faction was then kept under hatches by great care and policy, as it was likewise all the former part of the reign of our gracious Sovereign CHARLES, though the humours began to work more strongly then ever; insomuch, that having gained a party in every Parliament, which presumed to insist upon very high particulars of Government both in Church and State, and question such Officers of both as stood in the way of their designe, his Majesty was necessitated, by reason of those audacious and factious proceedings, to a frequent dissolution of Parliaments; which though they publicly exclaimed against, yet inwardly they were glad enough of it, working

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advantage

advantage thereby, to scandalize his Majesty, in the opinion of the people, as one utterly disaffected to Parliaments, and that intended to govern altogether by an arbitrary power.

This and other *Scandals* were treasured up against the time, wherein they hoped to have occasion to use them; but having often tryed their own single strength to be too weak to shake the *Government*, then the *Grandees* of the *Faction*, not knowing otherwise to repair their *broken fortunes*, began to have recourse unto the *Scots*, a people as needy as themselves, and who (it was presumed) would be glad to entertain any occasion to mend their *Fortunes*, and establish an *Interest* in this *Nation*: Besides, their hope was the greater to thrive among the *Scots*, because they were a people that had been discountenanced and discontented by the *Bishops*, and had embraced the same form of *Government* that was aimed at by themselves, and therefore could not but be willing to contribute their best assistance toward the settlement of it in *England*.

Therefore the *motion* was no sooner made from hence, but it found joyfull entertainment in *Scotland*, and Counsels were mutually imparted by the grand *Presbyters* on both sides; and in fine it was agreed, that *Reformation* should be the *stalking-horse* to the whole *Design*. The *aime* of the *Scots* therein, was the gaining of *Treasure*, and an union of interest with *England*: The *aime* of the *English Presbyters*, was the quelling of their *Opposites* at Court, and supplanting them in their *Offices*, the destruction of *Episcopacy*, and with it, of *Monarchy*; and the enriching of themselves with the *Wealth* of the *Kingdom*, the *Revenues* of the *Crown*, and the *Goods* of the *Church*; all which become a prey unto that monster of *Presbytery*, till it was wrested out of their jaws, by the new brethren of the *Independent* party.

By which brief draught of Discourse it appears, that as a great part of the *Commons* of *England* have been drawn in upon religious pretences to the faction of *Presbytery*, to serve worldly ends; so now that the hypocrisy and dissimulation of those proceedings is manifest unto the world, without doubt the true interest of all honest-meaning *Presbyters* in *England* is the very same with that of the *Nation* in generall, to seek peace and ensue it, to quit all considerations of siding or faction, to open their eyes and see how they have been deceived, to loath the vanity, and prevent the misery of all engagements in and for *Presbytery*; to endeavour simply the restoring of his Majesty, and to joyn with any for that end, but with none that are contrary; and also to content themselves with a regulated *Episcopacy*, for these following Reasons.

First, seeing it is most true, that there can be no settlement in this
Kingdom

Kingdom, but by a compliance with the *royall* interest, it is altogether impossible to expect *peace*, if a design be still cherished for the establishing *Presbytery* because of that absolute *antipathy* (or impossibility) betwixt *Monarchicall* and *Presbyteriall* Government, as I have manifested before: *God* and *Belial*, *light* and *darknesse* may as soon agree together; and therefore it must not be expected, that his Majesty should yeeld up his *Honour*, *Conscience* and *Crown*, in sacrifice to so pernicious a *rivall* in his *Prerogative*.

Secondly, if there be a fresh engaging for *Presbytery* to crush *Independency*, what more hope of *peace* have we when this *prevailing* party shall be down, and the other up again? are we not where we were before? shall not his Majesty remain as lyable as ever to the old vexatious *Propositions*? and have not the *Presbyters* of the *Kirk* told us plainly beforehand, that they are resolved, he shall sign all their desires before his resolution to the exercise of his *Regall* power? what then may we expect from *Presbytery*, after all the miseries and desolations of a second War, but that his Majesty shall remain in *durance*, as he did at *Holdenby*, or does now in the *Island*, without all hope of remedy to himself, or end of those intolerable *oppressions* lying upon this afflicted Kingdom?

Thirdly, it being cleer, that the design of a *Presbytery* hath been carried on meerly for the private ends of particular men, what madness is it for men that pretend *wisdom*, *Religion* and *godlinesse*, to hazard themselves and their Estates, to draw on the guilt of innocent blood by embroyling their fellow subjects, and infringe their *Obligations* to their *Sovereign*, by prostituting their *consciences*, *purses* and *endeavours*, to serve the ambition of a few, whose practises (when they are invested with power) will be (as they ever have been) to make them share with others in the *common calamity* at present, and intaile *slavery* upon their *Posterity* for ever?

Fourthly, *Presbytery* wheresoever it settles, is destructive of *liberty*, by reason of that *popish* trick taken up by the *Presbyterian*, in drawing all secular affaires within the compasse of their spirituall jurisdiction: and this they do by means of that awe wherein they hold the consciences of the *Magistrate* and *People*; the one being lyable as well as the other, by *excommunications* and *suspensions*, to be exploded as *scandalous sinners*, when they please to pronounce them such; as appears by that large extent of their Authority in judging of *scandalous sins*, which reaches almost to every action of humane life: so that

all the rest of the Kingdom, besides their *favourites* (from the King to the Beggar) must stoop like asses, to be ridden by a few ambitious Priests, and Lay-ignoramuses.

Fifthly, a regulated *Episcopacy* must be the onely government for this Nation, in regard it is most suitable to the constitution of the Monarchy, and the *Laws* of the Land (whereto through continuance of time it hath a very neer relation) and also to the humours and good liking of the people, insomuch that the *Brethren* of the contrary way after all their art, industry and perswasion, have found by experience, that it is impossible to force any other upon them; therefore without all controversie, a Bishop mortified and pruned of his *superfluities*, moderated in the jurisdiction of his Court, and the *compulsive* power, and assisted by the *Clergy* of his *Diocese*, will in the end appear to be the most excellent *Governour*.

Sixtly, if any *Presbyter* object, that he hath sworn to the extirpation of Bishops, he may do well to consider the unlawfulness of such an Oath, it having never been enjoined by any lawfull authority, but expressly without it, and against it; and moreover, to the destruction of that which is lawfull, viz. the government of the Church, confirmed by the *Laws* of the Land; which appears also by the undoubted testimony of ancient *Records* and later *Histories*, to have been continued with an *universell*, *uninterrupted*, *unquestioned* succession in all the Churches of God, and in all Kingdoms that have been called *Christian* throughout the whole world, for fifteen hundred yeers together, without any considerable opposition made against it; and which, if it be not of *divine right*, hath a fairer pretension, and may lay a juster title and claim to a *divine institution*, then any other form of Government can do: and therefore it having been worthy of such esteem in all Times and Places, and established by Law, certainly an Oath binding to extirpate it without Law and against Law, is utterly unlawfull, and so rather to be repented of, then stubbornly maintained.

Seventhly, by standing out for a *Presbytery*, they give the more hopes and encouragement to the *Independent* party, to persist in a way of obstinacy against his Majesty, and oppression of the Subject; because it will be a means to hinder a cordiall joynt-engaging betwixt the *Presbyters* and the *Royall party*, and enflame the old enmity, to the destruction of each other, whilst *Independents* gather strength and opportunity to triumph in the ruines of their division; whereas by a
speedy

speedy compliance with his Majesties interest, they may quell the pride of Independency, and either fetch them down to a composition with his Majesty ; or in case they continue perverse, be surely enabled to expell them out of the Kingdom.

Lastly, by a sincere, absolute close with his Majesty upon rationall grounds, they do no more then what the prevailing party among their Brethren the Scots, pretend to engage for (and truly, if their intents be otherwise, they will finde but cold entertainment in England ;) therefore if the Presbyters of England would but acquit themselves like reasonable men, the work of restoring his Majesty might be done without the Scots, and all those miseries and inconveniences be avoyded, which must certainly follow the admission of a *forreign Army* ; which, besides the pressures that they must bring upon the exhausted Northen parts, will expect a large retribution of *Treasure* for a reward of their engaging, and (perhaps) not depart in quiet, but upon such *Termes*, as may be exceedingly prejudiciall and dishonourable to the English Nation.

From hence I once again infer, the true interest of the Presbyters, is to counter-work the Independents in their interest, which they now drive against his Majesty ; and to this end, to quicken themselves to a joynt-engaging with the royall party, as the onely means to beat down the ambition of the ruling Grandees of the Independent party, to prevent the miseries of a long-languishing War, with the inconveniences of a *Scottish* incursion ; and also to procure the speedy settlement of the King in his just Rights, and the Kingdoms in firm peace and tranquility.

IIII. Reasons drawn from the interest of the City of London.

This great and populous City is the epitome of the Kingdom, whereof as it is a member, it hath the same common interest with the whole ; yet being more excellent then any other part, by reason of the dependance of the rest upon it, as being the principall Fountain of Traffick ; and also by reason of its abundance of *Wealth*, the grand Priviledges of their Charter, and the multitude of their Revenues and Inhabitants, they have much the greater share in the common interest of the Nation ; which is, Peace and Prosperity.

The speciall interest of this City is a free trade, as well within, as without the Kingdom : The onely enemy thereto is a *civill warre*, which destroyes commerce betwixt man and man ; whereof the Citi-

zens have had sad experience these *tumultuous* times by the decay of *Trading*, the like hath not been many hundred yeers. So that the only way to recover againe, is to endeavour after a happy *Peace*; and seeing there is no possibility of attaining it, but by an establishment of his *Majestie*, I shall present them with a few *Considerations*.

First, they may doe well to remember, how they were cheated heretofore with religious *pretences* into an *Ingagement* against his Majesty, and how that the whole Kingdome must owe its ruine and desolation to their warlike preparations and *Contributions*. Therefore as it hath been their unhappinesse to have the first hand in driving away the *King*, and un-settling the Kingdom; so let them account it their *honor*, to be active and industrious in bringing him back again, and to settle him in peace on the throne of the *Kingdome*.

Secondly, in effecting this, they ought to have respect onely to the *Royall Interest*, without the mixture of any *factious* ingaging whatsoever, under pretence of *Covenant*, &c. lest while they seem to act in the behalfe of his Majesty, they unawares drive on the design again of some particular *Faction*, instead of the *Publick Good*, and so leave open a *Gap* still to *Division*.

Thirdly, in case that the *Scots* come into this *Kingdome* againe, the Citizens ought to see very narrowly to the *Principles* of their ingaging, ere they condescend to supply, or countenance them, *secretly* or *openly*. If they come in with the old cheat of *Reformation*, *Covenant* and *Presbytery*, it will be the wisdom of the *Citie* to consider, that this will be but a new *On-set* to the first designe of *Scotish* incroaching upon *English* Interest, and the maintaining of a *Faction* to serve the ends of *Scotland*, and the ambition of a few *Scotified English*, whose Aymes have been and are, to share Dominion with the *Scots*, to the dishonour and prejudice of the *Nation*, and the ruine of *Monarchy*, the alteration of *Church-government* (how speciously soever set forth) being but a businesse subordinate to the *private ends* of particular *Grandeers* among the *Laitie* and obicure *Rabbies* of the *Clergy*.

Fourthly, they may be pleased to observe, that the *Game* plaid hitherto betwixt the two *Factions* of *Presbytery* and *Independency*, hath been onely which of them should be our *Riders*; and its to be supposed now that all the strugling of the *Presbyterians* against the present ruling *Grandeers*, is not by dismounting of them to free us, but onely to get themselves againe into the *Saddle*, that they may domineer over *King* and *Kingdome*, and then what comfort will the *City* or others reape

reape by all their paines and expences? Therefore it concernes the *Citizens* to looke well before they leape, and not be deluded any longer with the stale Pretences of a glorious Reformation; the end whereof is nothing else but oppression and confusion both of *King* and *People*.

Fiftly, the *Citizens* may doe well to consider, what little benefit they are like to gaine unto themselves, in lieu of that mischief that they will bring upon *King* and *Kingdome*, if the *Presbyterian* Faction shall prevaile againe. It may be it will somewhat tickle them for a time, to be revenged on the *Independent* party; and 'tis like they shall have their *Members* out of the *Tower*, and be put into the repossession of that and their *Militia*, so long as they imploy all to the behoofe and benefit of the *Faction*. But if the *Presbyter-Citizens* shall after a little time, upon the discovery of the Inconveniencies brought upon the whole *Kingdom*, by the standing out against his *Majestie*, in point of *Presbytery*, begin once to grow discontented and weary of their new *Masters*, they may surely expect to be served the same measure that is now meted unto them by the *Rulers of Independency*; it being a Rule with all *Usurpers*, no longer to countenance any that they have drawne into their *Party*, then they are willing to run on with them in *Designe*; but if once they begin to flag, to bury all their former merits in oblivion; also to reckon them as *enemies*, and use them accordingly.

Sixthly, if they shall discover themselves so farre, as to ingage againe for *Presbytery*, let the *Designe* be attended with never so many pretences of *loyalty* towards the *King* and his *Posterity*, yet it being cleer notwithstanding, that such an *Ingagement* would be destructive to the *Royall Interest*, his *Majesty* and the *Royall party* can looke upon them no otherwise, then as absolutely *disloyall*, and resolved to continue their *Rebellious* courses. And then if it shall so happen (as probably it may) that there be a *Compliance* betwixt the *Royall* and *Independent Party*, the *Doore* will be in a manner bolted against any *accommodation* betwixt them and his *Majesty*; and then by the union of those two *Powers* before named, the *Pillars* of their *Faction* (both *Scottish* and *English*) being shaken, and driven out of the *KING-DOME*, They will remaue wholly at his *MAJESTIES* mercy, touching the forfeiture of their *Charter* and *Priviledges*, &c. and give him opportunity to bethinke himselfe of such wayes and meanes to quell their *Pride*, and such meanes as may

may secure himself and his Successors from the rage of all turbulent and seditious humours in time to come.

Seventhly, the *Citizens* ought to bestir themselves with such alacrity, and give such testimonies of their loyalty, as may serve to abate the career of our *Independent* Grandees, who will otherwise never be brought down to a compliance with his Majesty: and to this end, it will be their wisdom to pretend high toward an engaging any way, rather than endure them at this passe any longer; but still notwithstanding to reserve within themselves a cordiall tender respect to the true interest of his Majesty: Moreover, if the case shall so stand, that an agreement be concluded betwixt his Majesty and the *Independents* (which certainly will be happiest for this Nation, if it can possibly be effected) then the *Citizens* ought not to let their spleens boil with the remembrance injuries received from this *Faction*; nor flatter themselves with imaginary benefits, which they suppose they might enjoy by advancing the other, but lay aside all emulation and respect of *faction* on the one side or the other, and be ready to applaud any course, which his Majesty shall judge most convenient for the composing of these unhappy differences.

Lastly, since the restoring and settling of his Majesty is the onely way of true peace, then in case the *Independents* should continue obstinate (to the last) against any agreement, it concerns all the honest and wise men of London, to be wary upon what terms they admit of a *Scottish* engagement, and not to be drawn in as they were formerly; but rather to observe the motions and directions of the *royall* party, and conform themselves wholly that way, as being the safest, honestest and most honourable, because free from *faction* and by-ends, and which hath for its sole end, the restitution of his Majesty and his *royall* Posterity, the preservation of the Church, and the establishment of true Religion, Peace and Liberty throughout his Majesties Realms and Dominions.

V. Reasons drawn from the Interest of Scotland.

The People of England being fully satisfied, that the design for alteration of Church-government, under pretence of Reformation, was first set on foot by the *English* and *Scottish* Grandees, meerly for ambitious, worldly ends and respects; and the Scots having had sufficient experience of the stoutness of our *English* stomachs, that they will by no means digest the *Presbyteriall* government, and since it is
look't

look't on by all knowing men, as absolutely inconsistent with, and destructive of *Monarchy*, without doubt it concernes the Scots to be-thinke themselves of some other way wherby to settle an *Interest* and Inter-course with this *Nation*, than by introducing a *Presbytery*, where it is so extreamly distast'd, by the generality of the People.

That there is no way for the Scots to settle a beneficiall and lasting *Interest* here, but by an absolute and sincere *Close* with the Royall *Interest*, I shall manifest by severall Reasons :

First, if they come in, and declare (in a mixed manner) for the King and the Covenant, they give the world to understand, that they come but to Act the old Cheat over again, seeing the Covenant (though there be words in it mentioning the Honour and happinesse of the King and his Posterity) would prove (in effect) the destruction of both : For if it works not an absolute change of Government in the State, as well as the Church ; yet it is cleer, that it will regulate it into a posture farre beneath the dignity and condition of a *Monarchy*. Therefore upon such Termes, they will lose that assistance, which otherwise they might have from the Royall Party in England.

Secondly, by so declaring, they will draw the Curtaine now placed betwixt them and us, and give a perfect discovery of their Intentions ; and we shall conclude, that their ayme is no wise at the good of his Majesty, but onely to serve their owne corrupt Interests. And we shall beleieve they bring in an Army for no other end, but to back their Party of *Presbytery* in the House and the City, so to crush the opposite Faction of *Independencie*, and then by removing the King to one of his Houses, reduce him and the Affaires of the Kingdome in *Statu quo prius*, as when he was at Holdenby ; where he shall languish in the condition of a Prisoner, as long as he lives, or (at least) as long as they reigne ; it being resolved on before hand, that he shall not be restored to the exercise of regall Power, till he have signed their Desires, and Propositions ; which his Majesty hath so often declared to be against his Honour and Conscience. And then what may the Presbyters expect, but that the injured People, having been so often deluded, and tyred in expectation of a Settlement, will take the first opportunity to rise all as one Man, to banish them and their Faction out of England, and upon their ruines restore both Prince and People, to their former Liberty ?

Thirdly, it seemes not to be the Resolution of the Covenant Abettors onely in Scotland, but it is declared by that Party which pretends highest for his Majesty in Scotland, and delivered in by them,

in their Answer to the *Desires* of the *Kirke*; That they resolve, not to put into his *Majesties* hands, or any other, such power, whereby the *Ends* of the *Covenant* may be obstructed; but that his *Majesty* shall before any *Ingagement*, give assurance under *Hand* and *Seale*, for himselfe and *Successors*, to agree to certain *Acts*, injoyning the *Covenant*, *Presbyterian* Government, &c. and never to endeavour the change thereof. Which resolution of theirs gives us cause to suspect; that all the *Bickerings* heretofore between them and the *Kirke*, were but meer *ventilations*, acted on purpose to make the world beleieve some high *Designe* on foot there in the behalfe of his *Majestie*, and to feed the *Royall* Party with hopes of great matters from *Scotland*, that being held in suspence, they might remaine the lesse active, and give the *Scots* a more plausible and easie *Ingresse* into *England*.

Fourthly, such a *Resolution* (if it once come to a publique *Declaration*) will make men apt to beleieve, that under his *Majesties* name, those royall *Pretenders* doe Act some particular *Interests* likewise, rather then that of his *Majestie* and the *Publique*. And further, seeing *Hamilton* is the *Chiefe* among them, it cannot be judged very improbable that He (who is a convicted Person, for aspiring to the *Crown* of *Scotland*, and who was so bold in the dayes of his *Majesties* prosperity, as to attempt it, and to that end (the better to compasse his *Designe*) had a hand in widening the distance betwixt his *Majestie* and the two *Houses*, and also in imbroyling the two *Kingdomes*) should take opportunity now in his *Majesties* lowest condition, and the present *Division*, to weave in his owne ambitious *Interest*, in hope to bring his *Affaires* unto perfection. I cannot accute him; but if the *Priestly Faction* and his, doe close with each other upon *Covenant* considerations, it is a shrewd *suspition*: The agreement betwixt them (in plaine *Termes*) is this; That if *HAMILTON* serve the *Presbyterian* *Designe* in *England*, the *Presbyters* of both *Kingdomes* shall (in requitall) connive at his doings, or assist him in his designe upon the *Crowne* of *Scotland*; and so his *Majestie* shall become a *Sacrifice* to the *Covetousnesse* and *Pride* of his malicious *Adversaries*.

Fifthly, by an immediate and absolute *Ingagement* for his *Majestie*, such jealousies as these will be quite taken away, and the hearts of the *English* so inclined and obliged to the *Scots*, that they will hazard both *Lives* and *Estates* in their assistance, and be willing by way of re-tribution, not onely to dis-burse toward the satisfaction

of their *Arreares*, but yeeld also, that his *Majestie* shall gratifie them with such other Rewards and speciall *Indulgences* of Grace and Favour in this *Kingdome*, as may tend highly to the Honour and Advantage of their Nation, even farre beyond what they may gaine by advancing their *Presbyterian Interest*; seeing it will be a long time ere the *Kingdome* can that way be staid, by reason of the contrary working humours, which will be ready to breake out ever and anon into new *Insurrections*; whereby the faction will be so continually busied at an excessive charge, and the People so impoverished, that they will not be more unwilling then unable to raise such vast sums, as are necessary for their satisfaction; at most, not the *tithe* of that proportion which they may receive suddenly from the hands of the King, and with the love of the Kingdom.

Sixtly, let not the Scots flatter themselves with a conceit of feeling their *Presbytery* amongst us, whether we will or no; for though they may do much by the strength of their faction, yet both English and Scots of that gang may consider, that the English are a valiant and generous people, impatient of the yoke; and though they may be beaten down for a time, yet if the Kingdom were divided into twenty parts, seeing (I am confident) at least nineteen of them are against *Presbytery*, it cannot be in reason imagined, that a few voting *Punies*, relying meerly upon Scottish Arms, should be able to trample down the spirits of this our magnanimous Nation for ever; but rather, that when they have smarted again under *Presbyterian-tyranny* for a time, they may recollect themselves with so much courage and successe, as will enable them to drive away the Scots and their faction, and confine the last scene of war within the limits of Scotland, where it had its *Originall*.

Seventhly, though they may relie much upon a Party in the City, yet the Citizens eyes being well opened, to see that they have been made but *stalking-horses* to other mens private ends, and been gul'd out of so many millions, onely to purchase slavery unto themselves, dishonour unto their City, and destruction to their Trades, (which cannot be recovered again but by a settled peace) the Scots may guesse how little countenance or assistance they are like to obtain at their hands, except they so declare for his Majesty, as that they may receive assurance of his speedy restitution; without which, they are generally convinced, there can be no hope of Peace unto the Nation.

Lastly, if it should so happen, that the Scots play false with his Majesty, and drive both him and the Independent party to extremity, it is probable they may unite upon reasonable considerations, and mutuall compliance betwixt both their interests: and then that Party being fortified by an addition of the Royall, which (wheresoever it sides) brings in the affections of the whole Kingdom, it is very possible, the Scots may not onely be defeated in the hopes of that large Dominion, and those golden mountains which they promised unto themselves here, by an establishment of Presbytery; but also be forced to pack home again, without so much as one superstitious crosse, to requite them for the pains they have taken in the work of Reformation; and (perhaps) draw revenge upon themselves, for all those affronts and injuries done unto his Majesty and the people of England, and renew the old antipathy with perpetuall enmity betwixt the Nations.

From all which, give me leave to sum up this Conclusion in a word, that the Scots have no way to restore an Interest again in this Nation, but by waving the corrupt interest of Presbytery, and engaging absolutely for the Royall Interest of his Majesty, as the onely means conducing to the weal and benefit of both Kingdoms.

Seneca in Thyeste.

Nemo confidat nimium secundis;

Nemo desperet meliora lapsus

Miscet hæc illis, prohibetque Clotho

Stare fortunam. —————

FINIS.

